

3: Ray

Plateau

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[For additional information on sites occupied during various phases of the annual fishing and hunting cycle, see pp. 124-151, in category 116.]

RAY: NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS

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relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

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VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.²² In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

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²²This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

226 strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, between June and September, varying a month or more according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.¹⁶³

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226 ¹⁶³ Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71-6, 181, 184-6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below,' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *GRS*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 467-8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311-14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

224 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the
 231 frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converg-
 484 ing lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes
 as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow
 Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and
 to bring back the game to their masters even from very
 long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on
 snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with
 clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and,
 [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild
 fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out
 the supply of native food.¹⁶⁴

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky
 hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want,
 and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses,
 several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

224 ¹⁶⁴ The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assiniboine
 484 territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is
 [721] no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the
 Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*,
 vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 297-8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the
 deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horse-
 back.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on
 elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall,
 and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations.
 [221] The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct local-
 ities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène,
 Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined
 the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207-8, 212-15, 218,
 225-6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls,
 from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's
 recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs,*
and Suckley, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296-7, vol. xii., p. 134.
 Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863,
 p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's*
Adven., vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46-7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;
 there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carri-
 boeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73.
 Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon
 rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Park-
 er's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo.
Myer's B. C., p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of
 the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.'
Wicks' Nr., in *U. S. Ex. Ez.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting
 the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W.*
Pac., p. 212. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's*
Nr., vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144-5;
Lat. Life, pp. 23-4, 34-41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268-9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles*
Archet d'a Voy., tom. x., 1821, pp. 77-82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp.
 21, 35-9; *Joset*, in *Id.*, tom. cxxiii., 1849, pp. 334-40.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION.

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as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country, which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.¹⁰⁵

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

¹⁰⁵ The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; *n'poothla*, ground into flour; *manum* and *sakyea*, made into bitter white cakes; *kamass*; *calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat *kamash* and an edible moss. *Id.*, *Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75-6. 'The Caycooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Percés. *Levis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash*, *cowish* or biscuit root, *jackap*, *aisish*, *quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect *kamash*, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214-15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 337. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Pulliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *konah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahsego*, *camas*, or 'water seego', is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57-8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (*alectoria*?). *Kamas* also eaten. *Pickering's Races* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *pepkah*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spallum*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *huka*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marum*, a grain. *Barneville's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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PERSONAL HABITS IN THE INTERIOR.

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,
and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.¹⁶⁷

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.¹⁶⁸ Guns,

¹⁶⁷ Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314-16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May; fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444-5, 340-1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapois live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30-1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id.*, *Mss. de l'Oregon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles: fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id.*, *West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats: Unis or fresh-water muscues, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamass, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais: fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse: fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas: fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105-6. Tushewas would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irring's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés: beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id.*, *Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin: gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nichols's Op. Tr.*, p. 154; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533-5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63-71; *Cadlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263-4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228-31, 309; *Wilks' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Lr.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnol.*, *ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206. ¹⁶⁸ *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 518; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 231, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46-7, 138; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197-9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 255; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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